

By the same token, some gifts become a way of life. I am going to step on some of my colleagues' toes when I say this, but, frankly, there are things permitted by the rules today that we simply ought not to permit. The legislation that is being crafted now, I hope, will prevent this kind of activity from occurring and, as a result, will deal both with the problem of undue influence and the problem of public perception.

I speak of one example, and that is attendance at charity events. Mr. President, you know charities love to have us in attendance. They love to put our names on the invitation list, on the honorary committee. It lends credence and credibility. We all support charities in that way. We will attend the dinner to lend our support and attend the charitable event.

Obviously, the group will many times ask us to come as a guest of theirs. We do that and we do it willingly and, obviously, that does not buy anything in terms of votes. That would continue to be permitted.

But the other kind of participation in charitable events is not so benign. That is the charitable golf tournament or other things as well, but I will use the golf tournaments.

As I say, I will step on some people's toes. The fact of the matter is, when someone flies us a couple of thousand miles away to a resort community to play golf because our presence there somehow makes it a more attractive event for the people who are paying money to attend but we get the free evening and the meal and the drinks and all the rest of it and the free golf game and, frequently, a free putter, whatever, that goes beyond simply lending our name and presence to an event that has a charitable purpose.

I think it is wrong and, therefore, I support the kind of reform which would preclude us from accepting recreational benefits in conjunction with our participation in these kinds of charitable events.

Again, Mr. President, I am just singling out this one example to illustrate the difference between the kind of things that have historically been felt to be OK and we do not think anyone would criticize us for doing, supporting a charity, and, on the other hand, those kinds of things which have crept into the Senate business over time to give us benefits that the general public does not have.

Most people do not get invited to charitable events and given a free putter and a free trip and free meals and, most important, the free golf game. The tee costs of this are significant.

So the rule I support says if you want to participate in a charitable event, be our guest, but you have to get there on your own and you have to pay your own costs for participating; they cannot give that to you. If they want you to attend the dinner with them, fine, but you cannot go there for the purpose

of getting some benefit that ordinarily people do not get, such as a free golf game and a free trip to a resort community.

That is the kind of thing which, frankly, gives us a bad name, and it may or may not, in some cases, lead to the argument that there has been undue influence created as a result of the people who are actually paying for the event.

So, Mr. President, I think my time has expired. I simply want to begin this debate by saying we will have some tough choices, but we have to enact reforms. It is the only way that we will prevent undue influence, on the one hand, and, second, end some of the perception problems that the Senate has, and at the end of the day our Government can exist and function only so long as the people have confidence in it, and that means confidence in the people who represent them. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator is recognized.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO SENATOR BYRD

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I want to add my congratulations to those of my colleagues for Senator BYRD today. He was celebrated for casting his 14,000th vote in the U.S. Senate. I know this is a time when it is popular sport to denigrate both the body politic and politicians. But we ought to understand that our country for nearly 200 years has been served by a wonderful array of statesmen and women who have often provided decades of service to preserve and strengthen our democracy.

When I hear these days of the slick ideas that some people put forward in order to solve the political dilemmas in our country, whether it is term limits or some other quick fix, I am reminded of the history of our country. I am reminded of the history of service by Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Goldwater, Humphrey, Taft, yes, BYRD, and DOLE, and so many others, who come and serve, often with great distinction, and contribute a great deal to our country.

It is not purely an accident that our country has become a world power, a country that tackles problems most other countries will not even admit exist, a country that is incredibly self-critical from time to time, but nonetheless a country that has progressed in many areas beyond most countries in the world. It is not an accident.

It results, I think, partly from the genius, inventiveness, and risk-taking ability of those in the private sector in a capitalistic system, who advance this country's interests. But it also results

from the judgment and compassion and wisdom of the line of leaders that stretches back 200 years, leaders who were willing to serve in the public sector and help create a democratic form of Government that works—and works better than any in the previous history of the world.

So I wanted, today, to stand and commend and pay tribute to Senator BYRD. I did not know much about him. I did not know what to think about him, frankly, before I came to the Senate. I obviously knew about him, read a lot about him, and watched him work. But I have had an opportunity now to study more closely his contributions to this Senate, and he, in my judgment, has created a lasting legacy of great significance to this body. He, of course, has many years yet to serve. But let me join Republicans and Democrats today in saying congratulations to someone who has devoted so much time to performing his duty for our country.

#### LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO IN BOSNIA

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I want, for a brief moment, to comment about the vote yesterday on lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. I did not speak at great length on the issue, but I was enormously troubled by it. We have voted on this a number of times in the past, and I have always resisted lifting the arms embargo, not because I did not want it to be lifted; I did, but I felt it inappropriate for us to do so unilaterally.

Yesterday, finally, I decided to vote to lift the embargo. As I said, I was enormously troubled by that vote. It was a difficult decision to make. But I felt it was a necessary decision to make. We cannot, it seems to me, sit by week after week and month after month and watch what is happening in Bosnia to innocent victims of that war. This is a war in which one side is heavily armed and the other side is prevented from getting sufficient arms to defend themselves. And I believe that we are doing something that represents the right course in that region of the world.

It is true, I think, that lifting the arms embargo will mean more arms in the region and perhaps an acceleration of the war. That may be true. But it is also true today that the Serbian army is marching in Bosnia, and it is moving into safe havens where the Bosnian Moslems have turned in their heavy weapons. When somebody says, "Why did the people not defend themselves?" it is because they could not get weapons with which to do so.

It is clear that the United Nations and UNPROFOR could not keep the peace. It is hard to keep peace where peace does not exist. You presumably can keep the peace if you have peace. But there is no peace in Bosnia.

The question, it seems to me, posed to us yesterday, finally, was, if our allies and the United States cannot and will not be able to provide protection for these Bosnian Moslems, should we not finally decide to give them the weapons with which to protect themselves? To say "yes" to that and do something unilaterally, we may very well anger our allies. That is not a wise course. Our allies are important to us. After all, the United States does not have troops on the ground in Bosnia. We have chosen not to want to do that. I support that decision. I think we should not move American troops to Bosnia.

But other countries have. Young men and women from around the world, especially young men from Great Britain, young men from the Ukraine, young men from France, young men from the Netherlands have been on the ground in Bosnia risking their lives. And it is difficult for us to say to our allies, because they have put their troops in harm's way, to say to them, "Your opinion does not matter to us; you are wrong." That is a difficult thing for us to do.

Lifting the embargo may, it seems to me, provide the kind of impetus that could fracture very important relationships that we have. Yet this is not just a geopolitical discussion. This is not some political intrigue or dialog between us and the rest of NATO. This is about whether families in Bosnia has the right to defend themselves against aggressors who are heavily armed.

I told my colleagues once previously that some months ago I was watching on television a story of a young Bosnian woman who had been critically injured with some 21 shrapnel wounds and lay in the hospital in critical condition for some long while. The attack that gave her these critical wounds killed both her parents, spared her brother, but critically wounded her. The story I saw about this young woman moved me so much that I sought to find a way to bring this young woman to America. I am pleased to say she is now in our country. She was granted humanitarian relief. She has been allowed to join her brother in this country.

The day that I met her airplane at Dulles Airport, I will never forget what she said about our country. This young woman, living by herself in a single room, reading by candlelight at night, having lost both of her parents killed in a mortar attack, and her brother having been able to flee, had not herself been given the opportunity to leave as well and come to our country.

With tears in her eyes, she described the horror that was visited upon so many families in her country. She talked of the hope with which she viewed our country, the feelings that she had about being able to live where there was not daily shelling and was not the risk of death and mayhem all around her.

It is probably difficult for any of us in our country to understand the daily

life of those whose lives are at risk in Bosnia. Nobody in this country can, it seems to me, look at the carnage that exists and the horror visited upon these people and say, with good conscience, that it does not matter. It matters to the world. It must matter to us. We must find ways, all of us, in the world to care when these things occur and to find ways to try to dampen the fires of war and to try to snuff out the horrors visited upon innocent people all around the world.

I have voted from time to time to send American troops into various parts of the world. I have voted to help fund exercises to respond to various troubles in the world. You cannot take a look at a famine in parts of Africa, where 2 million people risk death, and say it does not matter. You cannot hear somebody who comes back from Africa and says, "I watched 40-year-old women routinely climb trees to try to pick leaves off trees because it was the only thing to eat," and say, "That just does not matter. That is halfway around the world, and I do not care."

We must, as a country, care about these things. We must care about the starvation that exists in parts of Africa. We must care about the killing and carnage that exists in Bosnia. That does not mean that we are the world's policeman and must send troops everywhere, but it does mean that we have a responsibility, with others around the world, to try to respond to the winds of hunger that kill 45,000 people a day in this world.

And so we must respond to the ravages of war that threaten so many men, women, and children in Bosnia. I must say the vote yesterday was a very troubling vote for me because I have previously voted not to lift the arms embargo. But there comes a time when there is no choice. We must, it seems to me, in good conscience, give the Bosnian Moslems the opportunity and means with which to defend themselves against the terror of this war.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### BRIG. GEN. MICHAEL R. LEE

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the remarkable record of public service of Brig. Gen. Michael R. Lee, the commander of the 440th Airlift Wing based on General Mitchell International Airport Air Reserve Station, Milwaukee, WI. General Lee is also responsible for the wing's subordinate groups, the 910th Airlift Group in Youngstown, OH, and the 928th Airlift Group in Chicago.

He began his military career in the Reserve Officer Training Program at Oregon State University. There in 1963 he earned an undergraduate degree in business administration. After receiving his commission he went to James T. Connally Air Force Base in Texas where he completed his navigator training and went on to B-52 crew training at Castle Air Force Base in California. He then served until 1969 as

a B-52 navigator at Fairchild Air Force Base in Washington.

While General Lee left active duty in 1969, he continued to serve his country as a pilot in the Air Force Reserve. At Hill Air Force Base in Utah he flew C-124 transports while working as a stock broker. General Lee began to move up through the chain of command taking on more responsibility and demonstrating his strong leadership skills. During his distinguished career he has served as chief of operations plans for the 940th Air Refueling Group in 1977, in 1981 he was transferred to Headquarters 4th Air Force at McClellan Air Force Base, CA, as the director of tactical aircraft.

In 1986 General Lee received his first command as commander of the 914th Tactical Airlift Group in Niagara Falls. He returned to McClellan Air Force Base in 1988 becoming the deputy chief of staff for operations at Headquarters 4th Air Force. He took command of the 445th Military Airlift Wing (Associate), at Norton Air Force Base in California and assumed his current position as commander of the 440th in Milwaukee in April of 1991. Recognizing his leadership skills and ability to earn the respect and best efforts of the men and women who serve under him, Mike Lee was promoted to the rank of brigadier general on August 12, 1992.

General Lee is a highly decorated officer with more than 5,500 flying hours. His tireless service has earned him the Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters, Air Medal with four oak leaf clusters, and an Air Force Commendation Medal. These honors are well deserved as the 440th, under General Lee's leadership, earned an unprecedented five awards, including Best Air Mobility Wing in 1993 at the Air Mobility Command's Worldwide Airlift Rodeo, and received his second Air Force Outstanding Unit Award in its history.

Perhaps his greatest achievement while he served at the 440th was saving the Air Reserve Station at General Mitchell International Airport, from being closed. Joining forces with the local community and political leaders, the men and women of the 440th succeeded in convincing the Base Closure and Realignment Committee that their base was too valuable to be closed. I had the pleasure of working with him in this effort and was impressed with his hard work, professionalism and his ability to build such a broad coalition of support from across the State on short notice.

Unfortunately for the 440th he will be leaving us to become the commander of the Air Force Reserve 22d Air Force at Dobbins Air Force Base in Georgia. There he will lead more than 20,000 Reservists in 14 States, control over 70 aircraft, 9 reserve wings, and 19 flying squadrons. He will be sorely missed in Wisconsin but he leaves behind one of the most capable and combat ready